

Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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War Office Press Conference MINISTER QUESTIONED ON UNARMED DEFENCE

Peace News Reporter

THE Secretary of State for the Army, Mr. John Hare, on Wednesday, July 24, first dodged my question on whether he would co-operate with a sion on unarmed defence, and when pressed, said he did not "share" the proposal.

A crowded Press conference listened attentively as Mr. Hare explained the new re-organisation of the army, and reporters pushed questions at him on details.

Mr. Hare told them that there would be no changes in the Territorial Army, that it would mainly be officers of the rank of major and upwards who would be redundant, that the chances of promotion and a professional future for young men entering the Army would be "as good as today", and that redundancy would be dealt with as far as possible "on a voluntary basis."

There would be no redundancy in the Medical Corps.

The lengthy memorandum "The Army Changes" distributed to the Press revealed that the Army would be reduced by 51 major units and by many smaller units in the programme to create an all-Regular force of 165,000 by the end of 1962.

Changing circumstances

Amalgamations would take place affecting 30 infantry regiments, six cavalry regiments and six other armoured regiments.

Many of the reporters' questions dealt with such matters as how the amalgamation of units from widely separated parts of Britain would take place, and whether amalgamated Scots units would wear kilts.

The first sentence of the memorandum "The Army Changes" reads: "The Army is about to undergo one of the periodic major re-organisations which are necessary to keep it abreast of changing circumstances, policies, weapons, and techniques of war."

I referred to this sentence which mentions changes in weapons as one of the factors considered in this re-organisation and then asked Mr. Hare:

"It has been argued that nuclear weapons have completely changed the def-

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MORE SUPPORT FOR RESOLUTION

FENNER BROCKWAY and Leslie Hale have joined those Labour MPs who last week called on Constituency Labour Parties to seriously consider supporting at the Labour Party Conference a resolution on unarmed defence.

The resolution, No. 142, proposed by the Portsmouth (South) CLP reads: "This conference calls for a Royal Commission to be set up to consider the possibilities of unarmed resistance as a national defence policy."

Others reported in Peace News last week as supporting the call to Constituency Labour Parties include Dr. Donald Soper, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, Reg Moss, MP, George Thomas, MP, Henry Osborne, MP, Frank Allaun, MP, and Basil Davidson.

Twelve years ago Hiroshima was atom bombed. Today the WORLD'S SCIENTISTS WARN: "STOP ARMS RACE"

ON the invitation of Bertrand (Earl) Russell, world famous scientists from both Soviet and Western nations met in the little Nova Scotian village of Pugwash last month "to assess the perils of humanity which have arisen as a result of the development of weapons of mass destruction".

The meeting—an outgrowth of the famous joint appeal by Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein two years ago—issued a statement warning mankind that the arms race must end.

EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU

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Awst 5 — 10, 1957

Estynnir gwahoddiad cynnes i garedigion Heddwch i ymweld a'r Babell Heddwch ar y maes. Gwnewch y Babell yn fan i Gyfarfod Cyfeillion. Llenyddiaeth ar werth gan gynnwys "PEACE NEWS."

PN at the Eisteddfod

A warm invitation is extended to friends of Peace to visit the Peace Tent on the field at the national Eisteddfod of Wales next week.

Meet your friends at the Peace Tent and see the literature on sale at the Peace News stalls.

Tortured Algerians vindicated

AFTER the prosecutor himself had paid tribute to their unsparing efforts to bridge the gulf of hatred, one of the members of the Algerian International Voluntary Service for Peace (Service Civil International) reported arrested in Peace News last week has been released. Her name is Nelly Forget, a social worker in the bidonvilles (slum quarters) of Algiers.

Of the other Algerian pacifists arrested, Pierre Martin reports that Jacques and Eliane Gautron received two years suspended sentence; Chefika Meslem and Denise Walbert five years suspended sentence and Mohamed Sahnoune one year's imprisonment, the latter on a charge not connected with sheltering suspects.

The torturing of the prisoners took place during the first few days of their arrests.

The Gautrons had kept "open house" and were the friends of the girls Nelly and Chefika. The girl they sheltered, Raymonde Peschard, has disappeared and is believed to be dead. Charges against her have been withdrawn.

At the trial Eliane Gautron defended herself against charges of sheltering people flying from the police by saying: "I have been tortured myself. If the three men who tortured me were one day in trouble and knocked at my door I should shelter them."

Reporting the presiding judge as saying: "Torture is always being mentioned. It seems to be forgotten that rebellion came first and repression only afterwards," the Manchester Guardian's correspondent asked:

"Does this mean that he considered torture a normal part of police repression in Algeria?"

"We are all convinced", they declared, "that mankind must abolish war or suffer catastrophe; that the dilemma of opposing power groups and the arms race must be broken; and that the establishment of lasting peace will mark the opening of a new and triumphant epoch for the whole of mankind."

I. F. Stone, who published the scientists' statement in full and their sub-committees' findings in his "Weekly" on July 22, reports that as far as he is aware not a single US newspaper has published this material.

DANGERS REMAIN

Pointing out that two years had elapsed since the Russell-Einstein appeal, the scientists said:

"The dangers remain. The stockpiles of nuclear weapons have increased. New nations have joined the ranks of those producing weapons, or trying to produce them, whilst serious misgivings have been expressed as to whether the continued testing of such weapons may not result in damage to the population."

Pointing out that the international problems which had arisen as a result of the development of atomic energy were of two kinds, technical and political, they said that a gathering of men of science could discuss with special competence only the scientific and technical implications of atomic energy.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS

"Such discussion however, can be fruitful only if it takes into account the political problems which are the background to international negotiations."

"The signatories of the Russell-Einstein appeal affirmed their intention to say nothing which might seem to favour one rather than the other of the two great groups of powers into which the world is divided."

"In attempting to formulate the conclusions which followed from our discussions, we too have tried to avoid any exacerbation of the differences between nations which might follow, for example, from emphasis on technical considerations unwelcome to one or other of the two great Powers."

The scientists said that their opinions on politics were "as diverse as those of other men," and that it was difficult to issue an agreed statement on matters which were controversial.

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NO MORE HIROSHIMAS

NEXT week delegates will assemble in Japan for the Third World Conference Against A & H Bombs and for Disarmament. They will be meeting during the week in which people all over the world will be commemorating the twelfth anniversary of the atom bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. In Nevada, USA, pacifists will be

Off to Philadelphia!

From next week (Aug. 9) the Peace News North American sales and distribution office will be moved from Cambridge, Mass., to

c/o The American Friends' Service Committee,
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST.,
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Subscribers to the Air Express Edition through the US Office, will continue to receive their issues without a break.

● Copies will be flown over from London Airport every Wednesday evening; the aim is to achieve simultaneous distribution from the London and Philadelphia Offices.

William Basnight, now in charge of the National Literature Service of the AFSC, will also head the Peace News centre. Both activities, pioneered by Russell Johnson, Peace Education Secretary of the AFSC's New England Region, now become absorbed in the national AFSC Peace Education work, directed by Norman J. Whitney.

A magnificent job has been done by Russell Johnson, his staff and voluntary helpers in building up American sales of Peace News. From only one or two hundred US and Canadian sea mail subscribers in 1954, the sales have gone up to over 1,200 trial subscribers and some 800 regular readers. The paper's London Office and the readers all over the world are grateful for this splendid achievement.

● The transfer to the head office of AFSC presents a great opportunity for a further advance in sales. We appeal to all US and Canadian readers to give their strongest support to Bill Basnight and his colleagues at Philadelphia. We in London send warmest greetings to our new co-workers in the US.

New promotion leaflets are now available from the Philadelphia Office. Write for a supply and some free copies of Peace News to introduce the paper to your friends.

By backing the Air Express Edition, N. American readers have made it possible to air-mail Peace News all over the world. This has undoubtedly contributed to closer ties between world peace-makers. The Air Express edition is however, heavily subsidised.

A combined effort by all readers to increase sales will promote world peace and pacifist education. Equally important for the paper's future, it would lessen the financial problems which hinder our work.

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gathering at Las Vegas to demonstrate their opposition to US tests.

Reginald Reynolds will report from Tokio for Peace News. A member of Peace News Board, he is acting as information officer for the conference. From Las Vegas, Lawrence Scott and Dr. Homer Jack will be reporting to Peace News, Dr. Jack possibly travelling also to Tokio.

The second of four reports from Yugoslavia on "The Second Communist Revolution," by SIDNEY LENS, American trade unionist and author.

THE WORKERS' COUNCILS AIM TO MAKE A PROFIT

THERE are features about the Yugoslav economy which would gladden the heart of the most class-conscious American capitalist.

There is first of all the religious passion of the new Yugoslav economist for the free market and competition. There is also a system of profit incentives based on both personal and collective initiative.

The first halting steps in the new direction were taken in 1950 with the passage of the law on workers' councils. They are beginning to bear fruit, however, only now.

Observers concede that Yugoslavia already enjoys a higher standard of living than that of Russia itself.

Salesmen are again becoming an important feature of the economy. Factories which in the Stalinist period reduced their sales staff to one or two men, are now enlarging them. In one factory in Slovenia there was a heated argument recently because the men claimed their own wages were kept low because they had to hire a batch of salesmen to push their product.

Collective boss

Each Yugoslav factory or enterprise elects a workers' council which passes on all matters of policy. It sets wage scales, determines the number of workers and specialists to be engaged, the type of merchandise to be produced, price policy, advertising, and such social items as housing and recreation facilities for the employees. It is in a sense a collective boss, and it exercises direct control on a day to day basis through a sub-committee which meets regularly with the director.

Each factory competes with other factories in the same field. There no longer is a one-price system, as in Russia. You can buy the same textiles in different stores for different prices. Except for a few controlled items such as sugar, medicines, lard, cooking oil and bread, all other commodities find their price based on the law of supply and demand—just as in capitalist countries.

The aim of each workers' council is to make a profit. Beyond a certain amount the rest is at the disposal of the men themselves. They can either invest in housing, which is sorely needed, or in other social spheres; or they can divide the profit, just as would any capitalist corporation in America. In most instances the men grant

themselves a bonus of from one month to six months' additional pay.

If a factory is losing money the bank has the right to intervene and reduce workers' wages down to as little as 60 per cent. of normal. Often the Government waives this right, but there are instances when wages are actually cut because the enterprise is in the red.

Yugoslav economists contend that the benefits of the free market can be statistically illustrated. They say that from 1948 to 1951 the economy gained only 18 dinars of product for each 100 dinars invested. From 1952 to 1955 the amount went up to 62 dinars for each 100 invested. The second period was favoured, of course, because some new factories were coming into production. But even at that the Yugoslavs insist that they are doing much better than the Russians after four decades, who increase their national product only by 40 roubles for each 100 roubles invested. Further, Yugoslavia produces a far larger proportion of consumer goods than do the Russians.

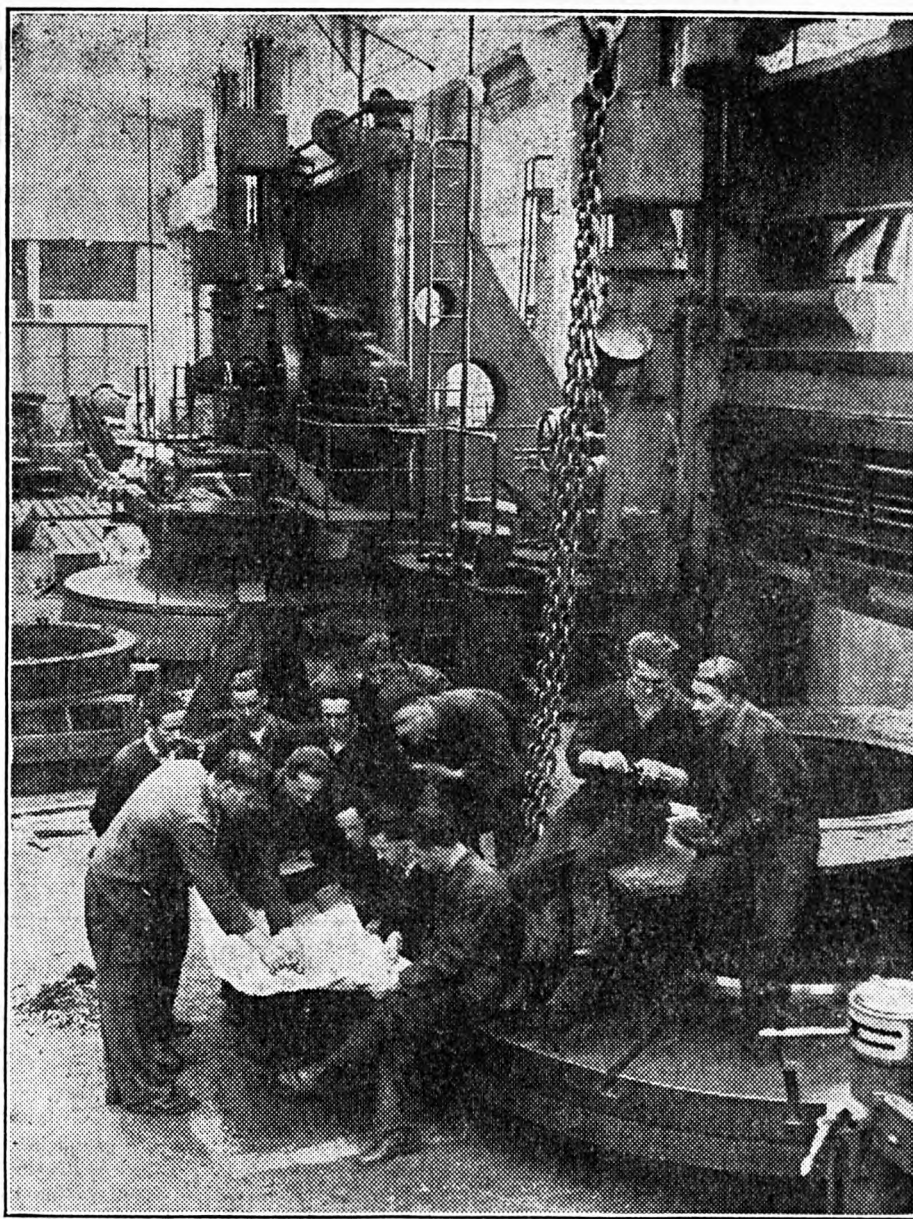
Stalinism in reverse

The current economic plan calls for decreasing investments and increasing consumer goods. This too is a reverse of the typical trend of Stalinism. The Yugoslav leaders know that unless they can supply the people, and particularly the peasants, with consumer goods the whole free market system collapses.

The Government is so concerned with the problem of competition that it often imports merchandise to force its own economy to become efficient. Whenever the price of wheat tends to go up, the State buys wheat abroad and puts it on the market at lower prices to force the home product down. The same is true in the industrial field. Because of the poverty of the country there are quite a few factories that have a virtual monopoly. Some of these tend to impose monopolistic prices. The Government claims that it tries in these cases to bring in foreign merchandise to compete with the home product. This happened last year with textiles. Yard goods were imported to force the native factories to bring their quality up and their prices down.

New-style co-operative

In the agricultural areas private enterprise is again in vogue. More than three-quarters of the collective farms have been dissolved, and peasants are permitted to own up to 10 hectares of land (in some areas 15) without restriction. There are co-operatives in the villages, on the Danish or Swedish style, which buy and sell and perform other services, but no longer the Russian type of forced collectivisation.



A workers' council gets together in the "Litostroj" factory in Ljubljana, capital of the People's Republic of Slovenia.

Peasants are free to join these new type co-ops or not. In one grape-growing area visited by this correspondent less than half the peasants were enrolled.

The peasant no longer has to sell his produce to the State. He can sell it where he pleases and to whom he pleases at whatever price he can get. Every day peasants from Montenegro come to Belgrade to sell their wares because they command a better price there than at home.

There is still an overall economic plan in Yugoslavia. But it is a general one with few details filled in, rather than the elaborate blueprint of the Soviet plans. Actual investments are no longer made by the federal

republic, but by the Peoples' Committees in the various cities and villages. The largest share of taxes is paid by each enterprise not to the federal Government, but to local authorities. Thousands of economic acts take place without consulting Belgrade. Workers' councils in small factories sometimes merge them, with only the permission of their People's Committee.

The Plan in Yugoslavia is no longer guided by the pencil-pushers in bureaucratic chairs—as in Russia. The bureaucracy now must answer to the objective whims of a free market and actual competition.

(To be continued)

WAR AND THE FATHERS

A note for Catholics and others by Father J. F. T. Prince

IN the fullest sense (and as the term is used today) the following and many others were pacifist both in doctrine and practice: Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, Cyprian and Lactantius. ("It is not lawful for a man to make bloody war in the defence of Justice—for Justice, the Justice of God wareth its own war.")

The use of physical coercion is not ruled out but this must not include the risk of damage to personnel either spiritual or bodily. The reason for the prevalence of pacifism in early patrology is easily discernible. The Christian Church comprising then every department of life and refusing to prescind from human problems and responsibilities, at the same time had no blessing for Imperialism other than the extension of the Kingdom of Heaven, nor for the accumulation of assets other than those of Heavenly or enduring value.

And while, if you will, acquitting the later churchmen of insincerity, it is certain that the early Fathers were greater realists in that (cf. Lactantius quoted above) they perceived that war in fact is rarely if ever genuinely waged in order to promote justice, but rather for the furtherance of selfish ends, however well disguised.

Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius (possibly because they were intimidated by

the threatened employment of the argument ad hominem if they persevered in pacifism) used the Pauline text as a means of escape, reminding the faithful of the Apostle's injunction that a man abide patiently in his calling—which they conveniently applied to soldiering. So that by the time of Constantine there were large numbers of Christians in the army. On the other hand it must be remembered that the Roman Exercitus was genuinely regarded as a police force rather than a band of killers.



IN this matter of war and the teaching of essential Christianity we are strongly reminded of the late Abbot Vonier's words to the effect that it is the moral killing or hatred, and the literal rending asunder of the Mystical Body of Christ that is the worst crime, indeed the sacrilege of war. Thus early in the late war, we were told that we had no quarrel with the German people but were to kill them only per accidents in the fight against evil things. It was not long, however, before it was found necessary to instruct the soldier that the "only good German was a dead one"—just as earlier the same was said of Frenchmen, Russians or whoever happened to be the enemy of the day.

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MAVIS JAMES reports on the world's "Pick-and-shovel" peacemakers

NO "EUROPEANS ONLY" FOR S. AFRICAN WORK CAMPS

THE Southern Africa Work Camps Association, in which Africans and Europeans work together, have planned eight different projects for this year.

In Zululand, they will be constructing a school and a Community Centre at the St. Augustine Mission, whilst at nearby Masotsheni they hope to assist in the building of a well around a natural spring. Another well is to be made at the Thelazini Community, where campers will assist in the building of a mud and wattle Community Centre. Some repair work, erecting of fences and digging of drains is scheduled for Nqutu.

Swaziland

Other plans include the building of a new dormitory for school boys in the Usuthu Mission in Swaziland, road repairing through the Sani Pass in Basutoland, and the building of a new village near Mafeking in Bechuanaland.

The aim of the Southern Africa Work Camps' Association is to provide a ground, through common service, for people of all groups to learn and understand something more of the other people who share the same country.

The Association believes that people working together, living together, and sharing common problems are given an opportunity to learn something of the unity which links all men.

The various work camp organisations in the many different parts of the world in which they operate and have their headquarters share these beliefs.

In Europe and in many other parts of the world the spirit of the work camps has permeated the locality in which they have been held, and people have come to a new understanding of the attitudes and opinions of members of other national groups.

French and Germans

Camps in Europe have forged sympathies between French and German youths. In the USA, work camps have broken down racial barriers. In Israel, Arabs and Jews have worked side by side together with Asians, Europeans and Americans for the good of an under-privileged community.

The Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps report that a local work camp committee in Cyprus will be organising an international work camp there as soon as circumstances allow.

The volunteers sometimes work in areas where conflict is still present. One team in Algeria has been constructing homes for

Arabs who lost their dwellings in the earthquakes of 1953.

In Egypt, where the conflict is over but the tension remains, 500 volunteers are at work reconstructing the destroyed parts of Port Said. An international team is soon to join them.

The emergencies which offer fertile opportunities for work camp action are many in today's world. A new wave of refugees in Europe created a situation of acute need and work camps are now functioning in Austria and Germany to help with the processing of refugees, re-settling, and home construction.

What the Daily Mail has described as "The Forgotten Horror," a tremendous earthquake in Persia, may well be another of the emergencies where work camp volunteers will not be found wanting.

Four new nations

Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia and the Sudan, four newly sovereign countries, are initiating work camps.

Campers do not always wish to work outside their own country. Many have a very real feeling that their efforts, or at least a proportion of their efforts, should be given to those in need at the nearest place, within their own homeland.

In England, for example, the International Voluntary Service for Peace have several projects which are taking place on their own doorstep. Help to the aged ranges high on the list of such projects. In a country whose social services are superior to those of many other countries, there still remains a vast gap between what is needed to be done and what the various Government Departments are able to do. Work camps are helping to bridge this gap.

"Labour's Voice" urges study of non-violence

IN a front-page article in the July issue of Labour's Northern Voice, Reg. Moss, MP, declared that traditional means of defence have become obsolete and "If we continue with them, we shall blow up the world in an unavailing effort to defend ourselves!" He pointed as an alternative to Sir Stephen King-Hall's call for a serious investigation into the possibility of non-violent defence.

Mr. Moss wrote: "It is my own view that non-violent techniques would not be easy to practise, and serious study would be required. The time is ripe for such a study to be made, as a result of which mankind might well face the future with higher hopes than have been possible in our own lifetime."



Volunteers of "Mocidade Portuguesa" making cement to use in the repairing of a church in Portugal. This photo, taken by Jose Lima de Carvalho Amor, was judged to be the best all-round picture taken last year by a member of the International Work Camps. The Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps (c/o Youth Section, Unesco, 19 Avenue Kleber, Paris, 16e) are having another Photo Contest this year, which, for the first time, will include a section for work camp films. (Unesco).

TRYING AGAIN

MY recent appeal for conscience money has brought in £25, but nearly all the donations were from those who had previously sent an annual subscription or a gift for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund. We are all the more grateful to them for their additional gifts, but I am concerned about how I can reach the pockets of those who have never given the PPU a penny, or certainly not this year. That probably means the majority of Peace News readers, and if you are one such I want to put it to you that unless peace is only a matter of academic interest and Peace News never challenges your conscience, you should be more than a reader, or Peace Pledge signatory. You ought to be helping financially according to your means and it is not fair to expect the comparatively few to pay twice before so many have paid once. We do really need the money and the current account of the PPU is in a precarious situation at the moment.

One of the ways in which you can give real help is by relieving those whom you expect to carry on the day to day work of the PPU from the additional worry about whether we are getting into the red.

Forgive me if I seem to be too insistent, but it is for your sake as well as ours. I am sure you will feel easier in your mind when you have sent off that donation you are going to give to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund this week.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150

Amount received to date: £352

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

INDIAN PRESS ON UNARMED DEFENCE

AN official journal of India's ruling party, the Indian National Congress, has commented on the call for consideration of unarmed defence.

In the All India Congress Committee Economic Review of June 1, the Chief Editor, Shriman Narayan, in "Notes and Comments" quoted extensively an article in the Bombay Chronicle on Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's proposal for "a Royal Commission to investigate the practicability of a new British national defence policy based on reliance on unarmed resistance."

It quoted comments in Peace News by Barbara Wootton, Frank Allaun, MP, and others.

Shriman Narayan commented: "This discussion by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall and some MPs of the United Kingdom will be read with interest by all those who are concerned about the growing expenditure on defence in different countries, including India."

"All the countries are gradually realising the futility of national defence by additional or thermo-nuclear weapons. The essential point is that economic conditions all over the world should be improved in such a manner that threats of war become unrealistic and irrational."

"This can be done only if there is decentralisation of economic and political power on a very wide basis."

The American weekly magazine Manas on June 26 carried a summary of Sir Stephen's article Reflections on Defence. Manas commented that "As in the case of Dr. Schweitzer's address, Sir Stephen King-Hall's closely argued appeal has been ignored in the United States by both Press and broadcasting systems."

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Oil wealth

AS we anticipated last week, condemnation has come from Russia on the British interference in the affairs of Muscat and Oman, although it is of course obvious that a Government that settled the arrangement of Hungarian affairs by the weight of Russian arms is devoid of any moral right to condemn the British intention to settle the disposition or affairs in Muscat and Oman by weight of British arms.

There is little comparison between the significance of the feudal struggle that is taking place in Muscat and Oman and the profound tragedy of the sanguinary suppression of Hungarian freedom, but legalistically there are strong points of similarity. Kadar asked for help by means of Russian arms and obtained it; the Sultan of Muscat and Oman asked for British armed help and obtained it.

It is true that Kadar was set up in his place by the Russians and was doubtless required to ask for their help. The Sultan has not been newly established in "authority" as was Kadar, but he has been upheld in his position by British power and his support is undertaken in the British interest, just as the imposition of Kadar's rule was undertaken in the Russian interest.

Oil poverty

THE struggle in Muscat and Oman is predominantly a struggle for oil, and the principals in it are the British and the American oil interests. These have already been near to an armed clash in 1954.

The Sultan has given exclusive oil rights to British oil interests. The Imam of Oman, who claims treaty rights to administrative autonomy within his area has refused to subscribe to the exclusive concessions accorded by the Sultan. Here is the basis of the trouble and the source of the British concern in the matter.

The fact that it is the oil interests of anti-colonialist America that uphold the Imam does not alter the fact that of the two it is the feudalistic Sultan who emerges as the more liberal—though we must add that in this case more liberal means merely that he is less hide-bound in reactionary ideas.

Poverty remains insensitive to its misery only as long as it knows nothing of wealth. As long as the Arab world was equal in abject poverty it generally accepted subjugation, dirt, fleas, hovels and a diet of a few dates as the norms of human existence. When oil came—and after the first oil wealth, the intrusive higher living standards of Israel—the Arabs' eyes were opened to new vistas.

With the exception of the oil wells in the United States practically all the oil on which our civilisation runs comes from countries where the masses of the people have to exist on the lowest living standards in the world. And the oil they produce is cheaper than that of the United States because American labour would not work for what Arabs, Persians, Indonesians and Venezuelians are paid.

One form or another of unrest and trouble in one oil-producing country or another—and possibly one day in all of them at the same time—will continue to exist as a danger to world peace as long as the simple truth is neglected that living standards everywhere are of supreme importance.

In comparison with that the revolt against the Sultan of Muscat is a storm in a tea cup.

Vickers

THE execution of John Willson Vickers has reminded those concerned about capital punishment of the grim fact that we have not yet got rid of that penalty in Great Britain, thought most of the civilised world manages without it.

There had been no execution in this country for two years, and there had been no general increase in the crime of murder by comparison with the previous two years—a slight increase in recent months was within the range of the normal fluctuations of murder throughout the years and it will be followed by another period of less murders, whatever the state of the law.

The Homicide Act, passed earlier this year after the Lords had last year refused to pass a total abolition Bill which had been accepted by the Commons, was designed to limit



the use of the death penalty to murders which were in conflict with the preservation of law and order, and the rest were to be dealt with as non-capital. Already a number of legal decisions have resulted in the quashing of death sentences passed in the spirit of old legislation rather than the spirit, and letter, of the new.

It was fully expected that John Willson Vickers would win his appeal against the death sentence despite the fact that in committing a burglary he hit and killed an old woman who surprised him. For he had not set out with any weapon, or with any intention to kill, and it had been clearly understood during the debates on the Homicide Act that, even within its categories of pos-

sible capital murder, the Act was designed to reserve capital punishment only for those who deliberately set out to kill.

But here once more we are reminded that what the Cabinet Minister said is not the law.

A strange ruling

THE Homicide Act removed constructive malice from the law of murder (constructive malice is killing someone in the course of another crime not associated with any intention to kill) but regarded as capital murder crimes committed in the course of or furtherance of theft, and where violence was used with intention to kill or to do serious injury. The Vickers appeal appar-

ently failed because he did use such violence that grievous injury was inflicted and death was a foreseeable consequence—and the use of violence in this way implied malice aforethought.

It was a strange ruling, the more so as Vickers was surprised in his act and struck in fear—and during the House of Lords debate on the Bill Lord Salisbury had stated for the Government that "It (i.e. the Bill) excludes murder committed under the stress of acute emotional excitement, when a man may be regarded as not wholly responsible for his actions."

Powers of Attorney General

THE Court of Appeal was apparently in some doubt about the correct interpretation of the law, for at its first sitting, where three judges acted, it was agreed to call a full court of five judges. Though the five were unanimous it is obvious that there had been a point of reasonable doubt and it is in just such cases that the House of Lords, as a final court of appeal, can be resorted to. In civil actions reference to the House of Lords is fairly frequent, and granted by permission of the Court of Appeal, but in criminal actions an appeal to the House of Lords on a point of law can be made only with the consent of the Attorney-General.

In the Vickers case the Attorney-General refused this permission, and the tragedy of this situation is not only that he should have refused a man even a faint chance of escaping a penalty which his own Government had claimed to limit to the most extreme cases, but that he should have refused an opportunity for the testing of a point of law in which he had himself been involved, for the Attorney-General had represented the Crown against Vickers in the Court of Appeal.

It may be that Vickers would not have been saved; it may in the long view be a good thing that nothing so final as a House of Lords ruling has been reached. But no one can be happy about a situation in which the Attorney-General can argue a case and then have the right to prevent his argument from being tested in a higher court.

This is not a criticism of the Attorney-General himself but of the office he holds, and it is hoped that the proposal to seek amendment of the law so that such decision does not remain in his hands will be supported on all sides.

It should be so, in fairness to the Attorney-General and in maintenance of the tradition that justice must not only be done but must manifestly be seen to be done.

Prison for principles

AT a time when many lads are obtaining deferment which will effectively exempt them from all national service, solely on the grounds that they are studying or doing certain jobs of national importance, it would have been reasonable to expect the courts to adopt a less harsh attitude to those who refuse to be conscripted for military service on grounds of religious principle.

So out of proportion have our conscription regulations become however, that boys who stand by religious principles are given the maximum prison sentence, whilst their colleagues, through national expediency alone, continue with their work.

Three cases of this arose in Sheffield last month in quick succession when three COs, all under twenty-one, were prosecuted for refusing to submit to medical examination, the first step that leads to enlistment into the army. One of them, Graham Hydes, is an ordained minister of his sect. In his case, being a Jehovah's Witness, this does not exempt him from liability. All of them claimed religious principle as the reason for their refusal, yet each was given twelve months' imprisonment.

As they had been dismissed by the tribunal for conscientious objectors, they were legally liable for military service. Yet, whether one agrees or not with their particular religious beliefs, it seems out of all concepts of justice that they should be given this maximum sentence for standing by their principles.

It is good to know that the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has offered its services to all three and, at the time of writing, at least one is known to be appealing against the excessive sentence.

Editorial and Publishing office.

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THE STRIKE TODAY

NEW THINKING IS NEEDED among trade unionists about what they try to do today when they strike. The final objective of the strike is, of course, to enforce a claim for improving conditions of work.

That workers must be allowed to cease to work in conditions regarded as unsatisfactory, cannot be questioned outside the totalitarian States. A man compelled to work under unjust conditions is a slave. It is the immediate objective of the strike that calls for new consideration.

Early in this century it was quite clear what the striker was doing. He justly sought to hit the employer in his pocket; to convince him that it would be less unprofitable to concede the strikers' terms than to refuse them.

Any inconvenience to the consumer was unintentional; if the public could get alternative service the striker had no objection. This might even help hit the employer in his pocket.

ALL THIS IS CHANGED.

The State and other forms of centralised control have completely transformed the character of the struggle.

When the country omnibus companies agree to a wage increase everybody knows that their controlled fare schedules will be readjusted so that the passenger will pay the addition to operating costs.



IN services under the direct control of the State—railways, London Transport, mines, etc. it is precisely the person at whom the strike was formerly aimed, the dividend drawer, who cannot be touched. His interest is guaranteed by the State.

It has become clear that in Britain today the strike can only be aimed at the public. During the strike it became clear that at least some strikers felt it would help them if school children were prevented from getting to school or were made to walk, or if the miners could be prevented from getting to work or made to walk. It was also known that one main result of the strike would be suffering among fellow-workers who would be hindered or inconvenienced in their holiday plans.

The immediate objective of a strike has changed. From being aimed at penalising the employer economically, it has been aimed at causing extensive inconvenience among the population at large in order to produce pressure on the authorities for a settlement. That there is an attack on the employer has become a myth; with the present high degree of centralisation it is the community that is attacked.

THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS WILL NOT GO ON INDEFINITELY.

Where the centralised controls are complete, as in Communist and Fascist countries, the strike is forbidden and is a crime. The workers have become slaves in fact if not in name.

As Britain moves increasingly toward centralised planning, there will be a tendency to develop totalitarian restrictions on the right to strike.



WE believe that there are only three forms of status for the worker in industry:

- That held in the early 1900s, in which working conditions were based on freedom of contract supported by the possibility of the withdrawal of labour—a situation that is becoming obsolete;
- That in the totalitarian States where the worker has no right of freedom of contract, no right to withdraw his labour and has thus become a slave;
- That which can be given by free co-operation in production, which can only be provided in a society in which the workers themselves in each industry or service democratically control the conditions in it, and face directly the other democratic combinations of workers equally in control of their own conditions of service.

Where the worker attains this last status, as a partner sharing in the democratic control of his work, there will still be disputes, including the "sharing of the cake."

All will realise what is involved, however, it will be clear against whom every claim is levelled, and all will be compelled to recognise their own responsibilities.

THIS WILL BE BECAUSE THE MYTH THAT THE STRIKE IS DIRECTED AGAINST AN EMPLOYING CLASS WILL BE GONE.

WILL THE WEST INDIES GET A HELPING HAND?

By Fenner Brockway, M.P.

ANOTHER step towards the liquidation of the British Empire (or perhaps I should say its conversion into a Commonwealth of self-governing nations) was taken in the House of Commons last week when an Order in Council was endorsed authorising the Constitution of the Caribbean Federation. There is good reason to hope that within five years, at least, the Federation will become an independent Dominion.

The new Federation will be composed of 13 islands in the West Indies scattered about the vast Atlantic bay which is bordered by the southern United States, the narrow belt of Central America, and the eastward spreading coast of South America.

The West Indian Islands are mostly inhabited by African and Indian races, descendants of slaves and indentured labourers. They are not all British. The American territories of Cuba, Haiti and Puerto Rico lie among them, as well as two small French islands and the independent Republic of Dominica. On the map the islands look like a terrestrial Milky Way.

Federations

The day will come when territories will be federated not because of their previous imperial associations, but for reasons of geographical proximity, economic integration and racial harmony. When that stage is reached, the Caribbean Federation will include all the West Indies. Meanwhile, the federation of the British territories represents an advance.

Federations don't always represent advance. The Central African Federation imposed on voteless Africans by a European minority, doesn't. But the British West Indies enjoy adult suffrage, and they are associating themselves together by choice.

The total population of the islands is a little less than 3,000,000, more than half of whom live in Jamaica. Some of the islands don't have more inhabitants than a small town. Antigua has 51,000, Montserrat only 14,300. Great distances often divide them: Trinidad is 999 miles from Jamaica. Com-

bined administration would have been impossible fifty years ago; but, with wireless and aircraft, space can now be annihilated.

I have said that the Federation promises to initiate a self-governing Dominion within five years; it starts very far from that. The members of the Upper House of the Legislature will be entirely nominated by the British Governor-General; three of the eleven members of the Council of State, in effect the Government, will be drawn from this non-elected Senate.

But this undemocratic constitution cannot last. In fact, it is already obsolete. Since it was drawn up Jamaica and Trinidad, the two largest islands, have, under the pressure of sweeping victories by the National Peoples' Party, prepared new constitutions which are far more democratic than the Federation constitution.

Economic aid

The Chief Ministers of Jamaica and Trinidad, Norman Manley and Eric Williams, are the most dynamic political personalities in the West Indies: Manley, Indian of race, will probably be the Federal Prime Minister and Williams, of African descent, second in command.

I shall be surprised if they put up with the Governor-controlled Constitution for a year, let alone five years.

Another vital issue will arise in the Federation, an issue with which every colonial territory approaching independence and every territory recently emerged to independence is desperately concerned. The issue of economic development.

The British Government has decided that economic aid given to colonial territories through its Development Corporation shall not be extended to new schemes when independence is achieved. Many of us regard this as monstrously unjust.

Britain has exploited the economy of the colonies for 100 years. Historically, our Governments and financiers have been interested, not in developing economies to benefit the colonial peoples, but in securing food and raw materials for Britain. The consequence is that as these territories move towards independence they are quite unprepared to meet the economic and social needs of their populations.

The West Indies are a startling example. Sugar has been their main product. The islands have poured into Britain the raw sugar which, refined in British factories, has enriched our breakfast tables and brought joy to our children in an unending variety of sweets.

But why hasn't the sugar been refined in the West Indies? These islands, which have exported raw sugar, have actually to import refined sugar for their own use! Clearly, if the economy had been planned in the interests of the West Indian people, refineries would have been opened in their own territories.

Capital

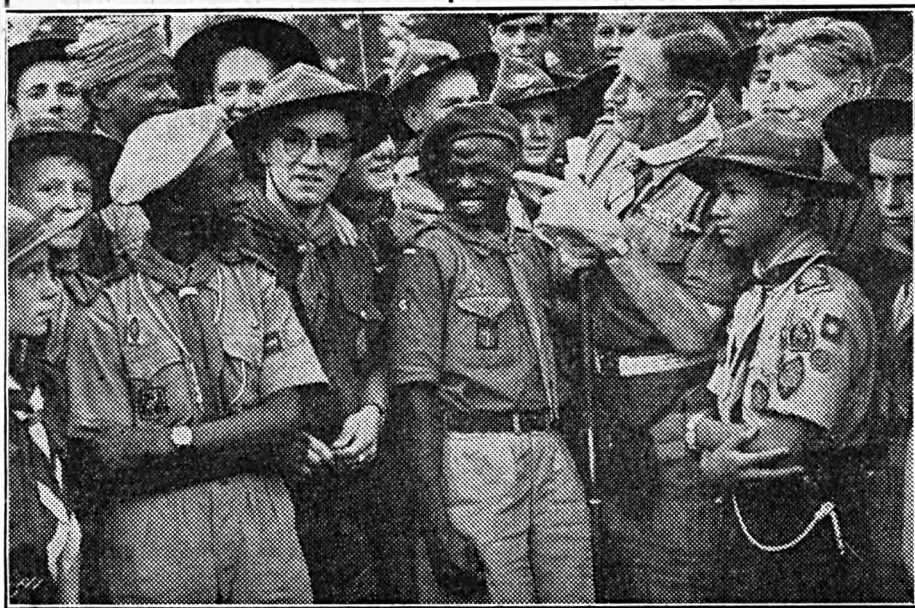
A consequence of this ill-balanced economy has been vast seasonal unemployment in the islands. The sugar harvest gathered, there has been nothing for the plantation workers to do.

This is one reason why so many West Indians come to Britain in search of a secure livelihood. Those who complain of their presence should realise that they are the victims of British economic exploitation.

The new Governments in the West Indies, mostly under Socialist leadership, and those who will man the new Government of the Federation, which will certainly be Socialist, are preparing to establish a balanced economy, in which sugar, cotton, cocoa will be processed as well as grown in their own territories. They would like to see their rich resources of bauxite, now exported to Canada for manufacture into aluminium, processed in the West Indies.

If they are to construct a poised economy, with industry complementary to agriculture, which alone can bring health and education and happiness to their peoples, they must be

... a friend to all ...



Over 30,000 Scouts from five continents have gathered in Birmingham, England, to commemorate the centenary of their founder, Robert Baden-Powell.

Their brotherhood is expressed in the Fourth Scout Law: "A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what country, class, or creed the other may belong."

In 1939, not a few British Scouts, adhering to their promise to be "a friend to all," refused to take part in war and registered as conscientious objectors to military service.

Summing up the contribution which the movement has to make towards world peace, Lord Rowallan, the Chief Scout (in international group above) said recently:

"Scouting is the one common ground on which the youth of the world can, and do, meet without regard to class or colour or creed or tongue, without sacrifice of their conscience, or their own individuality, or their national way of life."

Those attending the Jamboree who wish to be put in touch with the War Resisters' International (whose members pledge themselves never to take part in war) may obtain information from Mr. Sydney White, 16 Victoria Road, Harborne, Birmingham 17 (Tel. HAR 2362).

The War Resisters' International has thousands of members scattered through about 80 countries, the largest groupings being in Britain, Germany, the USA, the Netherlands and Scandinavia.

In Peace News next week: "Scouting and Pacifism."

RACE RELATIONS REPORT FROM THE USA, BY RALPH BLACKWOOD

Their first no-colour-bar Jamboree: no complaints

Though progress is too slow, every week there is good news, as well as bad, from the lines of the battle for racial brotherhood in the USA. It appears that brotherhood is slowly gaining ground. Almost every week there is another "first".

For example, the following "firsts" were reported in one issue of the Afro-American, a newspaper published twice weekly.

● The Boy Scout Jamboree at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, was integrated this year for the first time. Fifty thousand boys, 12 to 18 years old, of many religions, races, languages and colours met together without any form of segregation.

One Scout official was "delightfully astonished to see boys from North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia (in the deep South) working together in their own regional areas of this camp site without complaint and apparently with relish."

● Last week the Maryland State Troopers' Academy (Maryland's police training school) enrolled its first Negro recruit.

● The Henderson, Kentucky board of education announced its plans to integrate the first six grades of the city's public (i.e. tax supported) schools this fall. The board had planned to integrate only one grade each year but were prodded by the Henderson Coloured Integration Committee which called for complete integration immediately.

● The first Negro graduate student has been admitted to Missouri's previously all-white Drury College.

● The Baltimore Hotel Association voted to accept integrated conventions and coloured

provided with capital to establish factories and plant. In fact, far-sighted West Indian leaders have gone further in their steps to attract the necessary capital, even from private sources, than any colonial government under British control.

But this does not absolve the British Government and people from their moral duty to help the West Indies, as well as all colonial territories, to promote the economic security without which political freedom will fail.

members of college and professional athletic teams.

The Mayor of Baltimore, the Governor of Maryland and a number of civic groups have been fighting for integration of the city's hotels for three years.

Much credit for the integrationists' victory may go to the Americans for Democratic Action which, after deciding not to hold any of their own conventions in Baltimore's segregated hotels, sent letters to other national organisations asking them not to meet at Baltimore.

One organisation which did not follow the ADA suggestion was the American Association of Anatomists which held its convention in Baltimore in April this year. The AAA voted not to meet again in segregated hotels.

● Recently in Los Angeles the Normandie Avenue Methodist Church, an all white church, found itself faced with disaster. More and more Negroes had moved into the area until the neighbourhood was 60 per cent coloured. Again and again churches faced with this problem of a changing neighbourhood have been deserted by the white members, then later purchased by a Negro denomination... remaining just as segregated but negro instead of white.

When Bishop Gerald H. Kenny appointed a coloured minister, all 43 members of the all-white church resigned in protest.

One Negro newspaper, the Afro-American, predicted that within a year the church would have 250 worshippers. The next week the newspaper printed an editorial entitled "We Were Wrong".

One thousand persons, about half white and half coloured, had turned out for the new Negro minister's service! The editorial had been far too pessimistic.

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'The world-wide educational campaign advocated by Sir Stephen King-Hall might cost the millions envisaged by him and be a profitable investment as armaments have seldom been.'

Gandhi and Christian Pacifism

by the Most Rev.

T. D. ROBERTS
who as Roman Catholic
Archbishop of Bombay
(1937-1950) corresponded
with Gandhi on non-violence

SOON after the beginning of the Second World War, Gandhi brought about the resignation of the Indian Congress ministries in the various provinces as a protest against the committing of India to war without her consent.

Soon the burning issue there became the morality and expediency of war. "Satyagraha," non-violent resistance, was discussed in all its aspects.

All-India Radio having asked me to broadcast on this issue, I contrasted with the official British attitude to conscientious objectors the persecution under Nazi-Fascist régimes of all who refused to subscribe to violence as a cult.

"Just" war

In the correspondence with Gandhi that was one consequence of my broadcast I quoted not only the rigorous conditions agreed upon by Christian theologians of all nations as essential to a "just" war, but one novel application of those requirements: a book published in Rome by a Dominican priest, Father Stratmann who

(1) Examined great wars of history, including the Crusades, and showed how far they fall short of satisfying minimal Christian conditions; (2) Analysed terms such as "defensive warfare," "non-combatant," "natural law," "international law" used by the older moralists; he showed that modern methods of war (he wrote soon after the First World War) demanded a completely new attitude in view of the moral and physical consequences of modern war; of the virtual elimination of "victory"; of the existence of modern alternatives to war.

No one, I said to Gandhi, could read such a Christian indictment of modern war without conceiving profound sympathy for the alternative he offered.

Cult of violence

But I had still one question for him: If Hitler, Mussolini, or the Japanese became rulers of India by the refusal of Indians to help in its defence, how would Gandhi prevent the imposition of violence as a cult, as virtually the basis of society by the use of methods of propaganda which have in fact corrupted the youth of whole nations? Were India to be added to the list, would there not be, on balance, far more violence in the world

than would result from co-operating with active defence measures?

Gandhi's life and violent death, the history of India since 1947, all illustrate the difficulty of applying "satyagraha" effectively. He himself thanked God openly for giving him the British as field for his experiments! To him, the education of the prospective "satyagrahi" was the essential prerequisite to any successful use of his ideals and techniques.

Hard facts of defence

Now education is exactly the plea of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall. He does not make extravagant claims for "defence by passive resistance" such as have at times brought upon it discredit and incredulity; his "Reflections on Defence" start from the hard facts accepted by the British Government's White Paper on Defence—the apparatus of defence is out of date and beyond our means. He wants the question to be thoroughly examined whether physical means are the only or even the best means of defence. Sir Stephen's treatment of the situation created by nuclear weapons is substantially an extension of the arguments behind Father

Tolstoyan outlook

THE increasing emphasis amongst certain pacifists upon what they consider to be a need for political action does not, I am sure, meet with the approval of others. I would be interested to hear from pacifists who hold a Tolstoyan or anarchist position in regard to power, and who believe that the fundamental changes in human relationships that are needed to create peace must be primarily personal in character. Object: to discuss the possibility of forming a free association of friends sharing this attitude.—S. E. PARKER, 12 Park Drive, N.W.11.

Political outlook

THE report "Unarmed," on "some consequences of total disarmament," "starts from the assumption that a government has been returned to power pledged to that policy."

What an assumption! No wonder pacifists are accused of being unrealistic. How are we working to have MPs elected pledged to vote for total disarmament? We in the Fellowship Party believe it will never come about unless we work for it now. We invite the co-operation of those who will not vote for candidates who support armaments or war in any circumstances.—RONALD S. MALLONE, 141 Woolacombe Road, London, S.E.3.

Mexican venture

I WANT to bring to your attention the project of Robert Cuba Jones and his wife Ingeborg, at Chilpancingo 23, Mexico City 11, D.F., Mexico. You or your friends who may be going to Mexico may want to contact them for information or accommodation, besides becoming acquainted with what they are attempting to do.

Robert Cuba Jones grew up in Latin America. He and his wife undertook this current project on their own as a pioneering attempt at promoting cultural, economic and social exchange between Mexico and the United States.

They maintain a large house between Mexico City and the University of Mexico

Stratmann's condemnation of weapons now called "conventional."

For that reason I regret the following statement in "Reflections":

"What about a fully pacifist policy? The truth is that this possibility has never been thoroughly examined from a strictly political-strategical angle. The 'pacifist' policy has usually been defended from a moral point of view."

The authentic Christian tradition never attempts to establish moral obligation except in the light of "political-strategical" facts: Most of the current Christian literature on the "just war" is a plea for realistic appraisal of the "political-strategical" futility of war.

Not all violence is wrong, or self-defence and police would stand condemned. But that violence is condemned by the moralist which human experience has discovered to be futile.

Problem for moralists

The problem for moralists and statesmen is the slowness of the human being to learn from experience.

The world-wide educational campaign advocated by Sir Stephen King-Hall might cost the millions envisaged by him and be a profitable investment as armaments have seldom been.

His own example of courage in stating novel and unpopular truths—and in this I am quoting a distinguished General—is perhaps his most valuable contribution to the educational campaign.

To take a single example of the need of courage, I have noted among Catholic theologians much pre-occupation with the obligation, though very qualified, of conscripts to obey. That seems inevitable

"Peace through strength"

THEY SAID IT WAS SAFE IN 1914

Sunday marks the forty-third anniversary of the outbreak of the 1914-18 war. On November 30 last year, soon after the end of the fighting in Suez, the Manchester Guardian said:

Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor at the beginning of the 1914-18 war, who made the famous remark about a certain "scrap of paper," was born a hundred years ago today. It seems ironical that the great convulsion should have been started, formally at least, by such an amiable character, and that today he is remembered chiefly for that cynical remark about treaties which did not at all represent his habitual view. He was a tall, bearded, distinguished figure of a man, a walking epitome of the German academic character, and no match for the sinister figures in the background, such as Grand Admiral von Tirpitz.

The scrap of paper remark was wrong from him because of his dismay at plunging Europe in war after he had been persuaded by the German General Staff that a strong line by Germany would be quite safe and would clear the air and restore peace.

where the law—as in most Latin countries—does not allow even for the possibility of conscientious objection to war, general or particular.

But where, as in Britain, or under British influence, conscientious objection is a right, conscientious examination of issues may well become a serious duty. The moralist who insists on this duty involving hard thinking, the risk of unpopularity and worse, will need courage.

But not more than the men who first thought of flying. They needed as much moral as physical courage to come "Per Ardua ad Astra."

LETTERS

campus. A limited number of rooms are available for tourists with professional interests, but the prime function is to promote understanding and friendship between Mexican and US intellectuals.

The Jones' have a wide acquaintance among Mexicans and Americans in Arts and Sciences, and attempt to keep up-to-date on the names and addresses of such people who may be in Mexico.

This is helpful to the American stranger who wants to visit or interview leading Mexicans. Villa Jones is indeed an extremely helpful information centre to those doing research.

Robert Jones' special interest is co-operation with universities in both group field courses and in the guidance of individual students and scholars who go to Mexico for study, research, or on some mission.—B. H. LUEBKE, Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

"The Priest and the General"

THE action of the French Catholic Chaplain endorsing a programme of torture (P.N. July 12) does not find support in Catholic theology, for we are not permitted to do evil—torture bandits—in order to achieve a good end; the end does not justify the means.

This reported departure from recognised moral values is disturbing to Catholics and it would be well to know if the Priest's document carried the imprimatur of the Bishop to the French forces.—J. J. O'CONNOR, 37 Northiam, Woodside Park, London, N.12.

Peace parades

I DARESAY that Jon Wynne-Tyson and myself will have to agree to disagree, which, as good pacifists, we shall, undoubtedly decide to do, perhaps ruefully, but with goodwill!

Nevertheless, I must point out to him that he is mistaken in assuming, as he seems to, that bagpipes are the property of the War Office.

I would beg him to someday walk the

Road to the Isles, humming (supposing he cannot whistle or sing!) that wonderful marching song: "By Tummel and Loch Rannoch and Lochaber I will go." He may not know in his blood, as I do, the "far Coolins calling him away," nor will he be able, perhaps, to "smell the tangle of the Isles," but even if he has blisters on his feet and his legs are utterly weary, the sound of the pipes calling among the hills, will carry him along on his road.

The lovely laments, the enchanting dances, the magic marches to which the Scot swings his kilt need have nothing to do with war, nor with military music.

Sentiment is not something of which to be ashamed, and if the sound of the pipes stirs my Scottish blood it is because I love Scotland, and like to think of what I love when I am thinking about peace.

There was no "martial" music on June 22; there was only the good marching tunes which belong to Scotland, and the words of which have mostly to do with living and loving!

It is the War Office that has adopted our pipes and bugles, not the other way round. If he doesn't believe me, let him go, not only on the Road to the Isles, but, someday, to hear Denis Brain play the horn.

Well, I expect I shall go on marching, but I shall also go on speaking, and also, without doubt, retain my much valued friendship with Jon Wynne-Tyson.—SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Apollo Place, S.W.10.

Travesty of Christianity

RECENT broadcasts announced that citizens have been invited to attend church on American warships. This is an affront to spiritually minded people; a beguiling exhibition; a travesty of Christianity.—LOUIS OBED RENNE, 114 Cornell Road, Menlo Park, Calif., USA.

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1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Sunday, August 4

PLYMOUTH: 3 p.m.; Swarthmore Settlement, Muteley Plain, Group Meeting. Visitors holidaying in the West Country welcome. PPU.

Monday, August 5-Saturday, August 10

LLANGEFNI, Anglesey, N. Wales. Visit the Peace Tent at the National Eisteddfod. Peace News on sale, helpers welcomed. For.

Wednesday, August 7

BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; Hermes Room, 26 Broad St., 1. Serious consideration of the new pamphlet "Unarmed." Several speakers. PPU Central.

Thursday, August 8

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. PPU Group Meeting. Speaker: Howard Hutchins.

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m.; 67 Albert Street. Discussion on "Unarmed." Leaders: William Guise and Raymond Rowse. PPU.

August 10-17

BANGOR, NORTH WALES: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship Summer Conference. Speakers: Vera Brittain, Rev. Ernest Best, Rev. Mark Shirley, etc. PPU members in North Wales welcomed to stay or to any sessions.

Thursday, August 15

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. PPU Group Meeting. Speaker: George Bush.

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. Planning Autumn Programme. PPU Group.

Thursday, August 22

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. PPU Group Meeting. Speaker: John Barnard.

Thursday, August 29

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. PPU Meeting. Group Discussion.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Bots.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 6.30 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open-air.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDDERLY: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Corner of Blythswood Street and Sauchiehall Street. Open-air Meeting. Glasgow H-bomb Committee.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

Peace News at the Jamboree

A SPECIAL Peace News sales drive at the Boys Scout Jamboree is being organised in Birmingham. More sellers are wanted to complete the 12-day rota from August 1 to 12. Helpers are asked to get in touch with Sydney White, 16 Victoria Road, Harborne, Birmingham 17 (HAR 2362), Chairman of the West Midlands Area of the Peace Pledge Union.

Two new pamphlets UNARMED

Some consequences of unilateral disarmament
Price 1s. (postage 2d.)

DR. MARTIN NIEMOLLER
The Failure of Violence
—the challenge of pacifism

Price 4d. (postage 2d.), from
For Book Room, 29 Gt. James St.,
London, W.C.1
Friends Book Centre, Euston Rd.,
London, N.W.1

or from Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4
Published on behalf of the
STANDING JOINT PACIFIST COMMITTEE

From Germany, Heinz Kraschutzki reports
on the high price of "Security"

Lost on the road to Belsen

THE official West German news-agency DPA carried recently the following news:

Hamburg. German broadcasting systems as well as the British military radio BFN gave urgent warnings yesterday to the finder of a rod which was lost by a British military unit on Wednesday on its way from Celle to Bergen-Belsen. The metal rod is about 9 inches long, thick as a pencil, painted in red at one end. It is part of a Röntgen apparatus and considered to be very dangerous. The radio

warned people not to approach the rod nearer than 65 feet.

Just a little news item, amongst so many! The other news was about party politics, cinema stars and sports.

Probably somebody has already found that thing. The British soldiers finding that it was gone, probably went back all the way but could not find it.

Perhaps the finder has taken it into his hands and thrown it behind the next bush, at the roadside. Some weeks later he will not be able to explain himself why such a bad disease has infected his hands. The rod will be somewhere in the grass, and everybody who passes that road and comes much nearer than 65 feet to the dangerous device may suffer the consequences.

Or a child has taken it, found it quite nice to play with, either at home, in the middle of the family, or outside with other children. They all will touch it, till. . .

Menace

This is how we are now living, in this beautiful country of ours. Bergen-Belsen? That place has a bad name. But such a thing can happen anywhere else. Not only all the foreign troops living on German soil, are equipped with such things, the new German Army as well will get atomic armament. Adenauer has been pressing his allies fiercely to get it.

We are told that atomic armament is indispensable for our "security." We are menaced every day by this sort of security!

Something has gone awry, with that British unit. Such things do happen. Probably one "guilty" man will be punished now, the soldier who has failed to stow it well on the car. Poor man! There are others who will not be punished.

Those who, in their mad belief that security can be achieved only by military means, bring such things into our country, by which our security is not increased but endangered.

Peace-time danger

Equally guilty is our own government which admits atomic weapons in our country, which is going to equip our own boys with weapons the use of which in times of war would be a crime, the mere storage of which in times of peace is a danger.

And guilty are all those who are good, nice people, who say that of course they are for peace, but others have such armaments also, that one cannot know, that perhaps it is better, that the Russians are bad people anyhow. . .

All those who fail to protest against the very existence of atomic and other devilish weapons, are guilty of the daily danger for our children in times of "peace" and of the extinction of our race should one day the military class be let loose.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

Among books planned for publication this autumn on relevant subjects or by authors well known in the peace movement are the following. It is hoped to review most of them in Peace News when they are issued.

SIR R. P. MASANI has written an illustrated account of the life and works of Vinoba Bhave, who is regarded by many as Gandhi's successor, and the Bhoodan land gift movement that he has initiated. It will be published in September under the title *The Five Gifts* (15s.).

BIOGRAPHIES

In his latest book, Harry Emerson Fosdick, the veteran preacher, teacher and campaigner, to whom incidentally the Peace Pledge Union is indebted for the wording of its pledge, looks back over his long life and the issues and events of that time. He has called the record *The Living of these Days*. (25s.).

Among the first titles announced in a new series, "The Library of American Biography," are William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers by Russel B. Nye, and Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life by Samuel R. Spencer, junr. (18s. each). It is hoped that these books will not restrict their authors too closely to the life of the subjects but will deal also with the times in which they lived and the movements in which they took part.

Another book about the man who is probably the most biographed contemporary figure will appear in December when Schweitzer: *Hero of Africa* by Robert Payne (16s.) is published.

Also in the list of biographies are Paul Robeson by Marie Seton (21s.), Maria Montessori, *Her Life and Work* by Mortimer Standing, one of her closest associates (September, 25s.), and *George III and the Historians* by Herbert Butterfield (November, 21s.).

ATOMS

There is the usual output of books on atomicism — scientific, pseudo-scientific, popular and prophetic—but only two seem to call for special mention.

Earlier this year we reviewed the German edition of a remarkable book by Dr. Robert Jungk. Now two British publishers are to issue an English translation under the title *Brighter than a Thousand Suns* (18s.). It deals with the development of atomic science from 1920 up to the current arguments about nuclear tests, and with the personal careers, politics, scruples and ambitions of the men involved such as Rutherford, Max Born, Niels Bohr, Joliot-Curie, Fuchs and Oppenheimer.

A book that the publishers describe as optimistic, authoritative and convincing will be *Will the Atom unite the World?* by Professor Angelos Angelopoulos (September, 16s.), which deals with the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

MISCELLANEOUS

Moral Education in Christian Times by E. B. Castle, is a history of education, recounting the long struggle against conservatism and brutality. In *Races and People* (12s. 6d.), William C. Boyd and Isaac Asimov try to explain to non-specialists what "race" really means. Basil Davidson has written an account of his travels in Chinese Central Asia under the title *Turkistan Alive* (21s.). Ritchie Calder advocates *Science for the Undeveloped Countries* (18s.), and Robert S. W. Pollard deals with the present position and proposals for reform in *The Problem of Divorce* (18s.).

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MEETING

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION: A meeting for all interested in the question of CHRISTIAN PACIFISM will be held in the South Church Hall (beside H.M. Theatre) Aberdeen on Wed., August 7, at 7.30 p.m. The Right Rev. George F. MacLeod will speak on "The Church and Nuclear Warfare."

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MAN, SINGLE, Catholic, European race, cheerful, tolerant, interested in a free and peaceful world order, aged 36, desires lady penfriend, single or widow, strict Catholic, interested in movements that aim for a better world order, age 35 to 60, any race or colour or any address in the world, World Federalist and Labour supporter preferred. Apply Box No. 744.

MOTORISTS. Why pay increased premiums for July? Old rates quoted by Insurance Bureau, "Rhinegold," Wise Lane, London, N.W.7. (Mil. 5822 evenings).

LAVENDER WANTED for hospital gifts. Miss Hill, 50 Penwortham Road, S. Croydon, Surrey.

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leicestershire.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

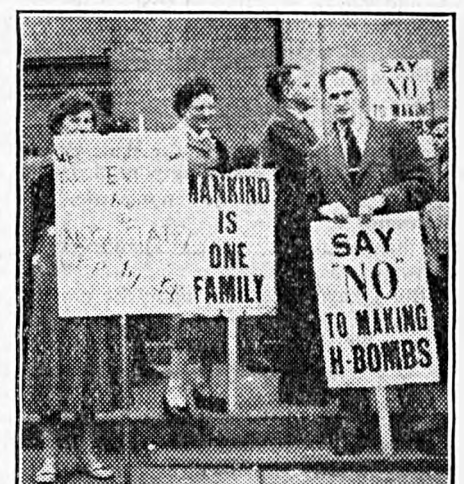
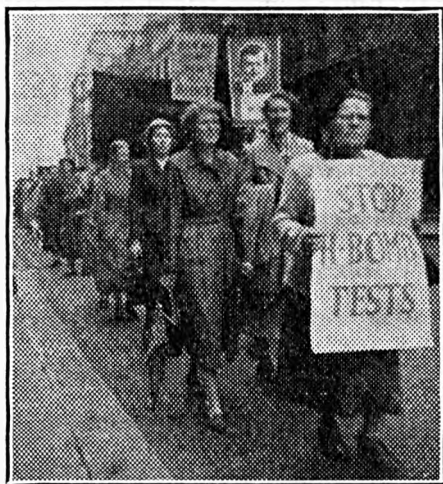
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KESWICK—Visit Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, The Heads, for the holiday of your choice. Good centre for restful or energetic holidays. Good food. Friendly atmosphere. Anne Horner. Phone 508.

The Society of Christian Socialists recently held its inaugural meeting at Deansgate. A constitution has been drawn up for the Manchester area, which states that the Society shall consist of Christian Socialists and shall aim at a society governed by Christian ethics and principles. The address of the Secretary, H. E. Briggs, is 66 Salters Rd., Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne 3. price 4d.

MARCHING AGAINST H-TESTS



Birmingham (left) and Sheffield (right) have had marches against H-bomb tests recently.

SCIENTISTS' WARNING

● FROM
PAGE ONE

"The discussion of such issues, however, allowed the points of difference and the areas of agreement to be defined, and led to a measure of mutual understanding of the opinions of one another."

The main work of the meeting was centred round three topics on which three committees reported:

1. The hazards arising from the use of atomic energy in peace and war;
2. The problems of the control of nuclear weapons;
3. The social responsibility of scientists.

Countries from which the scientists who signed the manifesto came were: Australia 1, Austria 1, Britain 3, Canada 1, China 1, France 1, Japan 3, Poland 1, USSR 3, USA 6. Two other scientists, one American and one Canadian, who thought parts of the statement "too strong" did not sign it.

NUCLEAR WAR

Three of the signatories were Nobel prize-winners. The British representatives were Professors Rotblat and Powell and Dr. Burhop. Prof. Oliphant and Dr. Brock Chisholm, former director of the World Health Organisation were the Australian and Canadian members.

Austria's representative was Prof. Hans Thirring, author of the first book on the H-bomb and a pacifist who has refused to work on weapons.

Committee 1 pointed out that radiation from medical X-rays was, in countries of more highly-developed techniques, considerably greater than the fall-out radiation from tests at the recent rate.

This did not mean, however, "that we should stop using X-rays, or that we should not be concerned about fall-out from tests."

"Full scale nuclear war would be an utter catastrophe," the Committee stated. "Its effects would be thousands of times greater than the fall-out effects from nuclear tests. In the combatant countries, hundreds of millions of people would be killed outright by the blast and the heat, and by the ionizing radiation produced at the instant of explosion. . . ."

LESSENING OF TENSIONS

Committee II, declaring that "war must be eliminated not merely regulated by limiting the weapons used," called for:

1. The lessening of tensions among nations and the promotion of mutual understanding among their peoples;
2. The ending of the arms race;
3. The provision of reasonable safeguards in the arms control system to give substantial protection and build up mutual confidence. The development of atomic armaments has now gone so far that a completely effective and reliable control system appears to be no longer possible.

WAR OFFICE

□ FROM
PAGE ONE

ence problem. You may be aware that Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall has proposed that in light of this a Royal Commission or other responsible body should be created to examine the possibilities of unarmed defence or non-violent resistance as a national defence policy.

"If such a body were to be created, would you be prepared to give it your full co-operation?"

There was a stir among the reporters, obviously taken by surprise, many of them, as military correspondents, were somewhat amused by the question.

The Secretary of State for War, clearly taken off-guard, hesitatingly replied that he felt the question was "not particularly relevant."

I then returned with a supplementary question:

"But I have based this upon the premise of your re-organisation. If there are no longer military means capable of defending this country, then surely the question is relevant."

"I am afraid that I do not share Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's proposal," replied Mr. Hare.

It was not clear, in light of the original question whether or not this meant that Mr. Hare would refuse to co-operate with such a Royal Commission if it be created.

4. The initiation of a step-by-step process to develop as satisfactory a set of controls and safeguards as practicable. The prompt suspension of nuclear bomb tests could be a good first step for this purpose.

Committee III declared that the paramount responsibility of scientists outside their professional work "is to do all in their power to prevent war and to help establish a permanent and universal peace."

SEPARATE IDEALS

Among aims to which they believed scientists in all countries could dedicate themselves were:

To be more actively concerned with matters of public policy;

Replace resort to force in the quest for natural resources and fruits of labour by a common effort to create wealth for all.

They believed that "the security of mankind demands that no section of it shall have the capacity to destroy the other."

The development of science and technology tend to break down barriers between nations, and in effect, to unify mankind.

They warned that tradition tended to place the emphasis in the education of youth on separate ideals of single nations, including the glorification of wars.

"The atomic age urgently requires a modification of these traditions. Without abandoning loyalty to national heritage or fundamental principles of the different societies, education must emphasise the fundamental and permanent community of the interests of mankind in peace and co-operation, irrespective of national boundaries and differences in economic or political systems."

Finally they declared that science requires absolute freedom from dogma imposed from outside.

"Without this freedom of scientific thought, and the freedom to exchange information and ideas, full utilisation of the constructive possibilities of science will not be possible."

'We will defend Trewern'

ALDERMAN Gwynfor Evans, recently re-elected President of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh National Party, for the next two years, has told the Prime Minister that the flooding of the Trywern Valley to supply Liverpool with water will not be passively accepted.

"If all legal and constitutional endeavour to defend the Welsh heritage is ignored, despite the unity and depth of Welsh conviction, the defence must continue, but by other means."

The party is pledge to use both constitutional methods and non-violent resistance when necessary in its struggle for Welsh freedom.

There are now 13,400 members of the party, an increase of 900 over last year, and 260 branches. The Annual Report states that "... there is no time to lose since self-government is a matter of urgency for our Wales; it must be won before the Welsh heritage is destroyed beyond repair—which is a matter of a few years."

The party's average vote in elections has risen to 12 per cent.

PRINTERS AND THE TESTS

ALL printing trade unions are being asked to join in the recently formed Printers' Movement for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests, following last week's meeting initiated by the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants (Natsopa), and attended by 180 people.

Mr. Harold Davies, MP told the meeting at St. Bride Institute, Fleet Street, "I raised the question of deaths from leukaemia in the House six years ago and Parliament laughed. Now they don't laugh."

"We must get the coming Labour Party Conference to ban nuclear weapons."

The Printers' Movement has the full support of Natsopa's National Council whose General Secretary Mr. Briginshaw is to address a public meeting to be held on Oct. 9.

By Sybil Morrison

Mr. Facing-neither-way

We intend to be an independent force for peace within our military alliances. . . . The hydrogen bomb puts the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the other countries of Western Europe on an equality. That is why Russia is so very anxious to have this particular weapon outlawed.

—Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Foreign Secretary, June 27, 1957.

IN a recent speech, the Prime Minister told his audience that he had been reading "Pilgrim's Progress", and he reeled off a list of most of the more unpleasant characters in that famous allegory, insinuating that some of the names could well be applied to members on the Opposition benches!

"Mr. Facing-Both-Ways" was one of those mentioned, and though no doubt fear of libel prevented him from sticking this tag on any one particular member of the Opposition hierarchy, he managed to imply that this described the general policy of the Labour Party.

It is an interesting exercise, therefore, to read the Foreign Secretary's speech at Taunton last week-end and imagine to which of Bunyan's characters he and his party might be likened.

To be a "force for peace" within a military alliance is an obvious contradiction in terms, but it is a contradiction which has become tantamount to a modern doctrine; it is, in fact, a dogmatic assertion which scarcely anyone today, would think of questioning.

The argument that a military alliance is not an instrument for war, but for peace, is, of course, a complete fallacy, but it has been said so often that the majority of those who heard, or read the words uttered by Mr. Lloyd at Taunton, are probably quite unaware that what he said is nonsense; they have become numbed by the impact of continuous repetition, and no

THE CLEAN BOMB

"Propaganda"—NCANWT

"THE suspicion remains that the idea of the clean bomb is a propaganda move intended to justify the continuation of weapon tests," says a new campaign leaflet issued by the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests. (Id. from 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.)

Sponsored by E. M. Forster, Earl Russell, Dr. Soper and Professor Barbara Wooton, the Council's latest statement declares that an agreement to stop nuclear weapon tests "would be a most important first step towards the lessening of world tension and the creation of conditions favourable to progressive disarmament."

They point out that since the Council's campaign was started, resolutions opposing the tests have been passed by:

- The British Council of Churches;
- The Free Church Federal Council;
- The Society of Friends (Quakers);
- The United Nations Association; and
- The Liberal and Labour Parties.

"We should urge our own Government not to attach any conditions to the ending of the tests which will make agreement impossible," the new campaign leaflet points out. "If a temporary agreement is eventually reached, we must work to ensure that it is made permanent."

The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests puts forward these six lines of action:

1. "Write to your MP, the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, and Leader of the Opposition."
2. "Write to the local and National Press."
3. "Raise the matter in any organisation to which you belong."
4. "Raise money for the campaign."
5. "Organise a group in your neighbourhood (we will put you in touch with other local supporters and send you suggestions about starting a local campaign)."
6. "Subscribe to Peace News, which gives the best coverage to this campaign of any newspaper. 4d. weekly from your newspaper."

longer attempt to think it out for themselves, let alone contradict it.

It is not so very long ago that equality in military strength was the very last thing for which any nation would have thought it right to strive; equality of arms was not considered the way to peace, but on the contrary the preservation of peace depended entirely, so it was asserted, upon the possession of superior strength.

"Peace through nuclear strength" lasted as a policy slogan until it became clear that the enemy had the same idea, and the talks at "the summit" then led to the Alice-in-Wonderland agreement, to a new doctrine of "peace through equality in deterrents."

The accusation that Russia only wants the so-called deterrent outlawed because she is stronger in conventional weapons, may or may not be true; it merely reveals the failure of reliance upon the threat of destruction to maintain peace.

★

Nothing in life remains static; no one phase can be caught in a petrified position for ever. Somewhere, somehow, the inevitable move must take place.

The fallacy of peace within the context of the war machine is constantly revealed, yet Ministers continue to speak in grandiose words, as did Mr. Selwyn Lloyd at Taunton, of Britain's great lead in science and industry, and of the necessity for this country to remain strong in arms.

The truth is something that neither the Foreign Secretary, nor any other spokesman for Governments' foreign policies, will face; they do not want to see, nor, apparently, to understand that their whole policy is based upon an unstable and tottering foundation.

It is nothing but an appalling gamble to stake all upon the forces of destruction as a deterrent to war; there is no constructive design in it, no solid planning, no sound moral principle.

Mr. Lloyd is imprisoned in his own little window-less cell; he lacks the vision which could set this country on the road to peace. He is blinkered by slogans and blinded by rhetoric; he hopes for the best and prepares for the worst, instead of preparing for the best and discarding the worst.

He neither faces the facts, nor the future; indeed he faces neither way for he dare not look at the destruction of the human race, yet he cannot see any hope for its survival without that threat.

It is not only nuclear weapons that must be outlawed, but war itself; when this has been faced with courage, and with vision, the first step towards peace will have been taken.

TO SAVE LINCOLN'S INN

LED by Mrs. Jeger, MP, a delegation of open-air speakers, which included Sybil Morrison representing the Peace Pledge Union, waited upon the Minister of Transport last week, carrying with them 500 signatures to a petition from members of the open-air meetings at Lincoln's Inn Fields, asking that the two corners which have for so long been open-air pitches, should be kept clear of cars up till 2 p.m.

The south-east corner where the PPU held its meetings has been rendered useless for that purpose by parked cars, and now the north-east corner is threatened by an extension of the car parking boundaries.

The delegation made a strong plea for preservation of the traditional London open-air pitches, and pointed out that in Lincoln's Inn Fields only three cars would have to find alternative accommodation.

They were given a sympathetic hearing, and a promise that representations would be made to the new Traffic Control Committee to give serious consideration to the matter.

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